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ABSTRACT

This paper, second in a series which deals with trends in the precollegiate teaching of the various social science disciplines, discusses the status of political science instruction in American secondary schools. Primary objectives of political education courses include such goals as training for citizenship, participation in, and understanding of democratic institutions. While these objectives are accepted by educators, the curriculum established for their achievement is widely criticized, resulting in new teaching strategies, approaches, methods, and curriculum materials which have been developed to accomplish the old goals as well as the new objectives made necessary by demands of a more complex society. The history, criticisms, and reform of political science education are discussed in this paper. Contents include the following: (1) Introduction, (2) History, (3) Criticisms of the Prevailing Modes of Political Science Education, (4) Sources and Directions of Reform, (5) Types of New Curricula Containing Political Science Content, (6) Other New Trends, (7) Concluding Remarks. (Author/RM)

ED 096185

THE STATUS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE INSTRUCTION IN AMERICAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

by

Mary Jane Turner

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Mary Jane Turner is a Staff Associate with the Social Science Education Consortium, Inc., and the ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/ Social Science Education

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PREFACE

This paper is one of a series being developed under the auspices of the ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education and published by the Social Science Education Consortium, Inc. The series deals with trends in the pre-collegiate teaching of the various social science disciplines. So far, one paper in the series, *The Status of World History Instruction in American Secondary Schools* by William Pulliam, has been published. Three others will be available soon--one on trends in elementary and secondary geography education, by George Vuicich and Joseph Stoltman; one on trends in secondary sociology education, by James Eckenrod; and one on trends in secondary psychology education, by Michael Wertheimer and Richard Kasschau.

We are indebted to the members of the Pre-Collegiate Education Committee of the American Political Science Association for their critical comments on the early drafts of this paper.

Irving Morrissett
Executive Director, SSEC
March 1974

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THE STATUS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE INSTRUCTION IN AMERICAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

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ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In the United States, as in most societies, the social philosophies of the most dominant social groups have determined the structure and content of political science education. The evidence indicates that from the time of the Founding Fathers, political education courses have had as their primary objectives such goals as training for citizenship, participation, and understanding of democratic institutions. The curriculum and format which, it was felt, could achieve these worthwhile goals was largely established by the early 1900s.

In recent years we have heard widespread criticism by concerned laymen, teachers, scholars, and students, not of the objectives of political science education, but rather of the programs that have been fashioned to achieve them. As the result of such criticisms, new strategies, approaches, methods, and materials have been developed to accomplish the old societally accepted goals as well as new objectives made necessary by demands of a more complex society.

We shall consider, in this paper, the history, criticisms, and reform of political science education.

2.0 HISTORY

2.1 The Formative Years: 18th and 19th Centuries

Alexander Hamilton, John Adams, James Madison, Thomas Jefferson, and George Washington clearly felt that "the science of Politics" should not be left to chance or private initiative, but should be taught and nurtured in the institutions of the new nation. Their interests were focused not so much upon the development of a corps of theoreticians as on "the education of a group of capable, practical politicians trained to *implement American ideals*." (Crick 1959, p. 3)

The American universities of the 19th century were poorly equipped to undertake the dual purposes that would have fulfilled the hopes of the Founding Fathers--training for political competence and instilling of American ideals. Political science in the 19th century was almost bereft of leading thinkers and theoreticians; and the leading thinkers of earlier centuries--Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, and even Plato and Aristotle--received little attention in the context of teaching "practical politics" or of what we would today call political science. Constitutional history was an important offering in many universities, but could hardly serve the role of training competent political scientists or politicians. Political economy and occasional courses loosely related to the thinking of Locke and Hobbes and presenting a simplistic "science of society" supplied some of the needed training. But on the whole it could not be said that a viable university curriculum in political science existed.

With respect to indoctrination of American ideals, the universities were probably more successful. In keeping with the moralistic tone that permeated American education from its beginnings, political education--to the extent that it existed--was dedicated to the task of inculcating uncritical acceptance of traditional American values. The principal goal was to develop "morally upright, God-fearing, straight-thinking citizens." (Somit and Tanenhaus 1967, pp. 1-15)

Pre-collegiate political education paralleled and was reinforced by university teachings. Constitutional history supplied the main content focus, with indoctrination in traditional American ideals permeating this and many other parts of the curriculum.

Discontent with the moralistic stress on political ideals, and even more with the paucity of political content in collegiate and pre-collegiate curricula, led educators around the turn of the century to initiate efforts to reshape the content of political science. Committees from the National Education Association, the American Historical Association, and the American Political Science Association grappled with the problem.

One of the most influential forces for reform was the Committee of Ten of the National Education Association. In its Report in 1894, the Committee recommended a high school program consisting primarily of history. The study of "civil government," which referred to the history and structure of government, was also suggested, for grade 12. (National Education Association 1894, p. 163)

2.2 The 20th Century

From the late 19th century until around 1915, civil government was the term generally employed to designate secondary political science courses. About that time, under the influence of Arthur W. Dunn, a specialist in civic education in the U.S. Bureau of Education, the term civics became part of the vocabulary of educators. Reports from the professional associations lent legitimacy to the use of the term.

In 1913, the National Education Association established a Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education. A special committee named by the Commission published a report in 1915, entitled *The Teaching of Community Civics*, which stated that civics in particular and social studies in general should have as their primary objective training for good citizenship. It recommended a course in community civics for students in the ninth grade. "Community" denoted not only the local but also the state and national communities. The course was to develop "young citizens" who knew about community agencies, were interested in community as well as individual concerns, were capable of initiating social reform, and were productive in social action. The report also suggested an advanced or "capstone" civics course. (U.S. Bureau of Education 1915, p. 9)

A report prepared by the Committee on Social Studies of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education in 1916, entitled

The Social Studies in Secondary Education, endorsed the findings of the special committee mentioned above. In addition, it added a "world community" dimension to that of the local-state-national community concept and proposed that the second half of the ninth-grade civics course be devoted to economic and vocational aspects of civics. The Committee also recommended a half-year or one-year course in economic, social, and political problems of democracy. The content was to be drawn from all the existing social sciences. It was specifically noted that neither traditional courses in civil government nor courses that attempted to simplify political science were sufficient to reach the general goals set forth by the Committee. (U.S. Bureau of Education 1916, p. 52)

It was also around this time that the president of the American Political Science Association (APSA), which had been formed in 1903, appointed a Committee on Instruction in order to demonstrate the Association's commitment to "education for citizenship and public service and...to personal participation in public affairs." (Somit and Tanenhaus 1967, p. 80) Two studies prepared by political scientists under the auspices of the Committee indicated that students "knew very little" about American government. Spurred by these studies, a Committee of Seven from APSA recommended that departments of political science should facilitate training for citizenship, preparation for professions, and training of experts and specialists for government positions. To this end, courses in civics for the high school and American government for the undergraduate level were proposed. (Somit and Tanenhaus 1967, pp. 81-83) The acceptance of these reports was so general that ninth-grade civics became one of the most widely taught courses in the high school curriculum. (Quillen 1966, p. 255)

During the years prior to World War II a minority of APSA members began to express doubts about the official role the Association had elected to play. This official viewpoint was expressed in the *American Political Science Review* by the APSA's Committee on Policy:

> Adequate instruction in schools, colleges, and universities can alone prepare for the formation of sound public opinion, and only trained public servants can properly employ the results of research in the service of the community. (*American Political Science Review* 1928, p. 962. Quoted in Somit and Tanenhaus 1967, p. 136)

In spite of this dictum, few, if any, political scientists became

involved in the preparation of pre-collegiate texts or materials that were reflective of "the results of research." The discipline of political science was ill equipped to offer any conceptual tools, coherent methodologies, or generalizations to assist in this effort. In addition, political scientists frequently exhorted one another to engage in teacher training and materials preparation but did not move to change the reward system of the profession to make it worthwhile to do so. The rewards of the profession in terms of status, prestige, and money have been channelled toward political scientists involved in research and scholarly publication rather than toward those engaged in teaching and curriculum materials preparation.

It is, then, the acceptance of an ethic laid down by our forefathers, the impact of the reports discussed thus far, the immaturity of the discipline of political science, and the educational philosophy and social support system of political scientists--the trainers of pre-collegiate teachers--that have established both the internal content of politically oriented courses and the typical secondary programs that still exist in many areas today.

3.0 CRITICISMS OF THE PREVAILING MODES OF POLITICAL SCIENCE EDUCATION

In 1971, in order to assess accurately the current status of pre-collegiate political science education and to develop guidelines for scholarly research, the American Political Science Association's Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education published an appraisal of prevailing patterns and materials used in pre-collegiate political science education. (Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education, APSA 1971) It was based on an examination of the most widely used elementary and secondary curriculum materials along with much of the extant commentary, analysis, and critiques of these materials; a questionnaire distributed to the members of the profession; a study of the relevant educational and political socialization research; an extensive survey of the attitudes, beliefs, and analytical skills of a select national sample of high school seniors; and consultation with teachers, students, and curriculum specialists. From these sources, the Committee drew together a set of generalizations depicting the characteristic weaknesses in the generally

prevailing modes of political science education in elementary and secondary schools. Of these, the five most pertinent are quoted and discussed briefly below.

> *Much of current political science instruction in elementary and secondary schools transmits a naive, unrealistic, and romanticized image of political life which confuses the ideals of democracy with the realities of politics.* (Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education, APSA 1971, p. 437)

Few materials satisfactorily interpreted American politics and government in terms of a realistic appraisal of governmental functions and processes. The relationship of governmental leaders to citizens, to the formulation of public policy, and to public opinion and interest groups was seldom explained or analyzed. Excessive reliance was placed on exhortation rather than rational analysis, on ideal rather than actual behavior, with no attention to the reasons for the discrepancy, much less its significance.

The researchers found that most texts displayed explicitly middle-class biases, myths, and dreams through the pictures and textual material they contained. This is, of course, particularly devastating when it is realized that prejudicial attitudes toward the poor, the non-white races, and many ethnic groups are shaped, or at least reinforced, in the classroom. The researchers noted in this regard that although "most of the current textbooks make some effort *pictorially* to depict Blacks as an integral part of American life, they present virtually no *textual* materials dealing candidly with the issues of present racial discrimination and the current status of Blacks in American society." (Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education, APSA 1971, p. 438)

> *On the whole, instruction about civics and government places undue stress upon historical events, legal structures, and formal institutional aspects of government, and fails to transmit adequate knowledge about political behavior and processes.* (Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education, APSA 1971, p. 439)

A strong emphasis on structural detail accompanied by questions that test memory, rather than analysis of why things happen as they do, was found to be typical. Perhaps worse than this, materials and courses presented a series of unintegrated fragments and lacked a broad interpretive framework for analyzing socio-political processes. Reliance was placed on a purely formal, structural approach to subject matter rather

than on utilization of such traditionally basic political science concepts as power, authority, legitimacy, justice, freedom, class, conflict, consensus, and decision making as tools of analysis.

> *On the whole, instruction in civics and government reflects an ethnocentric preoccupation with American society, and fails to transmit to students an adequate knowledge about other national societies of the international system.* (Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education, APSA 1971, p. 440)

Throughout all levels of education, other nations were cast in an unfavorable light. The very criteria by which they were judged were chosen according to American values, and definitions of good were reduced to "like us." Similar ethnocentric tendencies characterized treatment of American foreign policy in most textual material. Comparative studies, for the most part, consisted of studying nations and areas individually rather than comparing them in terms of categories such as governmental functions, structures, quality of performance, and relationships of external to internal factors. Few texts attempted to develop within students an understanding of major social processes within the international system. Nor did any of the materials reviewed introduce any of the major concepts which international relations scholars use to analyze international politics, such as power, integration, systems, equilibrium, communication, decision making, and sovereignty.

> *On the whole, instruction about civics and government fails to develop within students a capacity to think about political phenomena in conceptually sophisticated ways; an understanding of, and skill in the process of social scientific inquiry; or a capacity to systematically analyze political decisions and values.* (Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education, APSA 1971, p. 442)

At the elementary level, the researchers found that elementary textbooks have not been organized to develop in children critical inquiry skills that are necessary before any real understanding of political phenomena can be attained. The widely used "expanding horizons" approach to curriculum structuring does little more than describe realities with which the students are already familiar, particularly when no effort is made to provide useful frameworks with which comparisons may be made. Furthermore, it was suggested that in too many cases the social studies have not been regarded by administrators

and teachers as a proper locus for intellectual endeavor. Rather, they have been perceived as primarily useful to the extent that they reinforce reading skills.

At the secondary level, the organization of textbooks again has not been geared to helping students learn to cope with political abstractions or engage in fruitful inquiry. Memorization of "essential" facts that seem to be those students "ought" to know has been stressed at the expense of learning useful political concepts that facilitate understanding. Students have been routinely encouraged by both the textual materials and the classroom teacher to make normative value judgments without critically analyzing the basis of those values or understanding the consequences of operationalizing them.

> *On the whole, instruction in civics and government fails to develop within students an understanding of the capacities and skills needed to participate effectively and democratically in politics.* (Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education, APSA 1971, p. 443)

Bland description, extensive moralizing, and over-generalization characterized standard instructional materials. Textbooks tended to stress legalistic descriptions of governmental institutions and ethical prescriptions about political behavior rather than the socio-cultural foundations of political behavior and the extra-legal factors that so importantly influence public policy decisions and the functioning of government. Conflicts about values and processes of conflict resolution--the controversy, competition, and processes at the heart of politics and government--were generally ignored. In addition, although students were urged to be critical thinkers, most classroom materials provided meager instruction about how to think critically, cope successfully with the demands of careful value analysis, or make responsible democratic decisions.

Reporting the results of a survey of a national but not representative sample of high school seniors (the clients of the schools), Richard G. Remy, Co-director of the APSA's Political Science Education Project, specifically noted the following conclusions. A large number of white, middle-class, college-bound students were dissatisfied with existing classroom instructional curricula and strategies. These students indicated that the classroom should be a place to learn how to analyze and evaluate political life rather than a source of political facts or a

training ground for political action. (Remy 1972)

In perhaps the most critical indictment of all, Kenneth Langton and M. Kent Jennings discovered in a national probability sample of 12th graders that instruction in civics and government had failed to increase students' political interest, political tolerance, and sense of political efficacy. (Langton and Jennings 1968)

4.0 SOURCES AND DIRECTIONS OF REFORM

4.1 Societal Pressures for Change

Coupled with the evidence that the classroom was not producing students capable of responding adequately to their environment, strong societal demands were creating pressures for restructured and reinvigorated politically oriented courses of study. The launching of Sputnik in 1957 spurred a dramatic revolution in the teaching of mathematics and science. Since this revolution was not soon reflected in the social science programs, there developed a growing concern about the apparent imbalance in classroom emphasis.

Concern for the state of social science education was also increased by the many changes in 20th-century life resulting from scientific and technological developments. New industries such as atomic energy and new occupations created by the fast pace of automation not only brought about conditions of relative affluence and increased leisure time but also brought disturbing dislocations and inequities. As American society continued adapting its social structure to technological innovations, there was increasing centralization of power and leadership, creating new roles for government. (Robinson 1967, p. 6) The question that became paramount in the minds of concerned Americans was whether this centralization of power and decision making could be reconciled with autonomy for the individual. Such concerns began to force a redefinition of the traits and competencies desirable for students and citizens in a participatory society. Education for *all* citizens assumes greater complexity than does education for elites.

Also to be considered was the fact that in many important ways both national governments and their citizens function in a transnational

society, or in a number of transnational societies. "This reality was also reflected in the trend toward the development of a genuine world community." (Kelman 1968, p. 661) The existence of common problems, common perceptions, and increased facilities for cross-national communication made obsolete the old notions about autonomous nation-states. The increasing interrelatedness of all the global components of man's activity made the task of understanding the world about them a formidable challenge for adolescents.

Recognition of these vital problems and issues, which intimately affect everyday life, seemed to call for greater creativity and innovation in the search for solutions. Basic value conflicts over civil rights, the right to dissent, morality, the population explosion, depletion of natural resources, famine, disease, poverty, drug use, and the ever-present hazard of nuclear warfare demanded resolution. Chadwick Alger suggested that "conventional" education presented a major difficulty in this connection.

> Education can liberate or imprison.... Images of the past and preoccupation with certain current events filter out much of the world of the present. This also makes it impossible to think about the future. (Becker 1969, p. 308)

Given the societal demands and presented with substantial evidence of inferior education, many groups of educators--including a number of political scientists along with other social scientists--determined to join efforts aimed at improvement. The result was the "new social studies" movement starting in the 1960s. This movement can be generally characterized as discipline based, inquiry oriented, concerned with socio-political behavior as well as formal institutions of governance, and filled with innovative pedagogic strategies and methods. The dimensions of this movement are delineated below, in Section 4.3.

4.2 Response of the Political Science Profession

In April 1970, the American Political Science Association established its Pre-Collegiate Education Committee under the chairmanship of Richard C. Snyder of The Ohio State University. The Committee was charged with two primary responsibilities.

> First, the Committee is to provide the profession with a continuing assessment of the discipline's relationship with

> elementary and secondary education. Second, the Committee is to develop and to begin to implement a long range strategy through which the intellectual resources and talents of political science can be more effectively mobilized in support of improved political science education at the pre-collegiate level. (Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education, APSA 1971, p. 432)

The Committee recognized the difficulty of constructing a single, detailed typology of objectives for pre-collegiate political science education that could be accepted uniformly by all. However, it found enough agreement on basic purposes to be served by the schools in teaching about politics to offer the following objectives.

a. *Political science education in elementary and secondary schools should transmit to students a knowledge about the 'realities' of political life as well as exposing them to the cultural ideals of American democracy....*

b. *Political science education in elementary and secondary schools should transmit to students a knowledge about political behavior and processes as well as knowledge about formal governmental institutions and legal structures....*

c. *Political science education in elementary and secondary schools should transmit to students knowledge about political systems other than the American system and particularly knowledge about the international system....*

d. *Political science education in elementary and secondary schools should develop within students a capacity to think about political phenomena in conceptually sophisticated ways....*

e. *Political science education in elementary and secondary schools should develop within students an understanding of and skills in the process of social scientific inquiry....*

f. *Political science education in elementary and secondary schools should develop within students a capacity to make explicit and analyzed normative judgments about political decisions and policies....*

g. *Political science education in elementary and secondary schools should develop within students an understanding of the social psychological sources and historical-cultural origins of their own political attitudes and values, and a capacity to critically analyze the personal and social implications of alternative values....*

h. *Political science education in elementary and secondary schools should develop within students an understanding of the capacities and skills needed to participate effectively and democratically in the life of the society.* (Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education, APSA 1971, pp. 434-437)

Given the APSA's long-professed interest in the "proper" political education of the young and the less-than-conspicuous successes that the interest has produced, one might easily dismiss this effort as well meaning but destined to be ineffectual. It should be noted in this regard, however, that this set of objectives comprises only part of a long-range strategy for improving pre-collegiate political science education developed by the Pre-Collegiate Education Committee. Other elements of this strategy involve the development of a support system consisting of four principal elements:

a. a national network of university based research, development, and service centers,

b. a cluster of political science departments with a special interest and organizational commitment to teacher education,

c. a sub-culture or sub-discipline of political scientists professionally interested and involved in research, development, and service activities in the field of pre-collegiate education,

d. national leadership and staff assistance. (Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education, APSA 1971. pp. 447-448)

Furthermore, the Committee decided to promote collaborative relationships with other disciplines and other organizations and to encourage the development of a variety of educational programs, including programs in elementary and secondary education, research and analysis, and teacher education. In addition, interest has been shown in studying the social organization and culture of the schools. (Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education, APSA 1971, pp. 450-457)

The newly created Division of Educational Affairs (DEA) of the American Political Science Association should also be viewed as an important indicator of the profession's growing interest in political education, including pre-collegiate education. Specifically, the DEA is the staff arm for the Association's Steering Committee on Undergraduate Education (SCUE), but it also takes initiatives in other educational activities and coordinates the work of the SCUE with the educational work of all other APSA committees.

4.3 Social Science Curriculum Projects

Also responding to societal demands and pressures and encouraged by funding from several sources--primarily the U.S. Office of Education

and the National Science Foundation--a number of social science curriculum materials development projects were established in the 1960s to bring about a transformation of both the methodology and content of elementary and secondary social studies courses. Some of these focused primarily on the content of political science; many others contained important elements of political science.

The total picture of what had to be done was complicated by the dramatic onrush of new knowledge which characterized the fifties and sixties. What had never in reality been possible--a presentation of the total body of social science knowledge--had become patently impossible in view of the amount of new data being processed daily and the speed with which one piece of information replaced another. New methods of selecting content (as opposed to the conventional wisdom supposedly embodied in "coverage of the field"), new methods of organizing facts so that they relate to other knowledge in ways that contribute to perspective and understanding, and new ways of teaching intellectual skills had to be found and pressed into immediate service.

4.31 Using the Structures of the Disciplines. New ideas on how best to handle the knowledge explosion can be traced back to several key individuals, one of the most important of whom is Jerome Bruner, a learning theorist at Harvard University. Because his influence on the new social studies curriculum materials has been profound, an understanding of what the various curriculum development projects have attempted must begin with him. (Cassidy 1970, p. 2) Certain main themes developed by Bruner have, to a large extent, guided the direction the new social studies curricula have taken.

Bruner's primary concern is with the quality and intellectual aims of education. He feels that the aims of education should be to train well balanced citizens for a democracy and to aid each student to develop his own maximum potential. (Bruner 1960, p. 8) The ways in which these goals can be realized are, first, by teaching the structure of a subject or discipline rather than facts and techniques, in order to establish viable relationships that will be useful in understanding new information. Second, basic concepts and generalizations from all disciplines should be used, related in some way to

the child's experiential frame. Finally, the desire to learn should be stimulated through the excitement of personal discovery. (Bruner 1960, pp. 1-20)

It should be noted in this regard that, although many political scientists are not willing to enunciate a structure in the Brunerian sense, they can and do offer a choice of useful frameworks and approaches. It is not possible within the limits of this paper to elaborate upon all of the varying views about the nature of political science; however, the following resources should be helpful in suggesting the dimensions and boundaries of the discipline. The first group presents some general overviews of the nature of political science; the following groups list a number of specialized approaches and strategies that political scientists have found useful.

General

Eulau, Heinz, and James G. March, eds. *Political Science.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969.

Hyneman, Charles S. *The Study of Politics: The Present State of American Political Science.* Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1959.

Isaak, Alan C. *Scope and Methods of Political Science.* Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1969.

Mehan, Eugene J. *The Theory and Methods of Political Analysis.* Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1965.

Riddle, Donald H., and Robert E. Cleary, eds. *Political Science in the Social Studies.* Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, Thirty-Sixth Yearbook, 1966.

Van Dyke, Vernon. *Political Science: A Philosophical Analysis.* Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1960.

Group and Group Processes

Truman, David. *The Governmental Process.* New York, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1951.

Power and Influence

Morgenthau, Hans. "Power as a Political Concept." In Roland Young, ed., *Approaches to the Study of Politics.* Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1958, pp. 66-97.

Decision Making

Snyder, Richard C., and Glenn D. Paige. "The Decision-Making Approach to the Study of International Politics." In James N. Rosenau, ed., *International Politics and Foreign Policy.* New York, New York: Free Press, 1961, pp. 186-192.

System Analysis

Easton, David. *The Political System.* New York, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1953.

_____. *A Systems Approach to Political Life.* Boulder, Colorado: Social Science Education Consortium, Inc., 1966.

Young, Oran R. *Systems of Political Science.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968.

Functionalism

Almond, Gabriel. "A Developmental Approach to Political Systems." *World Politics* (January 1965) pp. 183-214.

These references point to areas of both agreement and disagreement among political scientists. For example, most political scientists would agree that their field of study is related to "legal government." But they may take different approaches to this concept. Some approach the terrain by describing governments; some describe ideas about what governments should do, and how; some prefer to utilize the scientific method to develop generalizations that fit together into a structure of knowledge; and some suggest normative doctrines and proposals for political action. (Hyneman 1969, pp. 28-54)

Each of these approaches has merit, but none should be used exclusively to achieve the APSA objectives mentioned on page 19. Broadly stated, the over-arching goal of the social studies should be to provide for students the opportunity to gain the cognitions, analytic skills, and value clarification skills necessary to understand social reality and live optimally in an environment the students themselves help to create. The reason we teach political science is that it offers a unique body of methods, generalizations, and theories for understanding an important slice of that reality.

4.32 New Knowledge about Political Socialization. Recent research in political socialization has also made an important contribution to curriculum development. In and of themselves, these findings did not prescribe new and improved approaches to political education for elementary or secondary schools. They did, however, point to some crucial educational problems, narrow the range of possible alternatives, and raise some very basic questions about past practices and future possibilities in political education. (Patrick 1967, p. 65)

The research indicated that most Americans acquire very early

enduring supportive attitudes about the nation and the political system. However, this generalized support for the structure and ideals of a democratic nation frequently is not translated into actions and feelings of individuals and groups. Many individuals who are very supportive of democracy in the abstract do not see the implications of democracy for, as an example, their own views about minority groups and minority opinions.

Because of these findings, developers began to structure curricula that would give students an opportunity to examine critically the values inherent in the American political system and in their own personal belief systems--and to resolve whatever conflicts may exist. Educators now realize that this can only be accomplished by providing young people with the tools to think about their beliefs and examine traditional practices in an educational atmosphere conducive to reflective thinking. (Patrick 1967, p. 71)

4.33 Understanding Value Conflicts. Another problem that confronted the curriculum builders of social studies programs was the selection of content. In the early sixties, Donald Oliver and his associates at Harvard University explored in depth the approaches to selecting social science content taken by the Commission on Social Studies of the American Historical Association (1916) and the Committee on Concepts and Values of the National Council for the Social Studies (1957). After finding both schemes deficient for the purposes they hoped to achieve, they proposed a criterion for content selection that has been employed in at least three major curriculum projects.

Basic to the Oliver thrust is an explicit value judgment regarding the purpose of governmental functions in society. This value judgment is that each individual has a right to make personal choices regarding appropriate conduct for seeking personal fulfillment and that a primary duty of government is to preserve that freedom of choice. Where this type of freedom is promoted and protected, it is assumed that conflict and disagreement will also exist, because different individuals see fulfillment and the ways to achieve fulfillment according to different frames of reference. (Shaver and Berlak 1968, pp. 17-42) Therefore, after students have developed to a stage where they can describe their own culture and have acquired the specific beliefs of their family or clan as well as some

of the more general beliefs and values of the total society, the content of the social studies should be changed. The focus should be on conflicts and on differing definitions and interpretations of the meaning of such terms as liberty, freedom, equality, security, and other valued goals. (Shaver and Berlak 1968, p. 35)

5.0 TYPES OF NEW CURRICULA CONTAINING POLITICAL SCIENCE CONTENT

Out of the totality of social science curriculum packages that were developed during the 1960s by the various nationally funded curriculum development projects, we find wide variations among those that have political content. In general, it can be said that the developers of these materials have attempted to select and organize their content in terms of the fundamental concepts, propositions, and questions that structure the inquiries of scholars in the social sciences and humanities. In other words, they tend to employ conceptual frameworks in order to facilitate student comprehension of relationships between information and ideas.

It also seems to be true that most of the new curricula tend to be more realistic, relevant, and interesting than traditional materials. Controversial issues, conflict, and conflict management are examined. Of critical importance is the fact that competing values and viewpoints are explored and analyzed. The scientific mode of inquiry is regularly used and students are encouraged to question, collect data, hypothesize, test their hypotheses, draw inferences, and make tentative generalizations. A vast array of social science skills--such as classification, categorization, model building, and data processing--are taught to enhance the analytic abilities of students.

Of course, the materials vary in scope, level of generality, and quality. Some of the projects have produced only a few units, while others have generated very extensive sets of materials, up to complete K-12 curricula. Some of the projects have dealt primarily with individual disciplines in the social sciences; others have drawn upon many or all of the social sciences. Some of the materials were primarily designed for sequential and cumulative use, while others were developed to "plug into" traditional courses to supplement and enrich them. Some

resources were developed for abler students, others specifically for average or for disadvantaged youth.

Materials which have significant political science content can be classified as falling into five categories: those emphasizing (1) inter-disciplinary or multidisciplinary approaches to the social sciences, (2) a particular discipline other than political science, (3) particular geographic areas, (4) political science, and (5) law and its role in society.

5.1 Inter/multidisciplinary Materials. The materials in this group are quite varied, but have the common characteristic that content from a number of the social sciences is used, without particular emphasis on any one. In general, they accept the notion that common concepts, methodological techniques, and levels of analysis from all the social sciences can usefully be acquired by students.

Within the group, there are two divergent approaches. In the first, there is emphasis on the concepts and methods of the social sciences; in the second, the focus is on social and political controversies and the values that underlie them, with the social sciences, as such, playing a minor role.

Professor James R. Scarritt of the University of Colorado's Political Science faculty has given one rationale for the first approach:

> I believe there is an underlying unity in human social behavior; therefore, I would advocate a unified social science approach to teaching at the pre-college level. I view the political system as the analytical subsystem of society which is crucial for the selection and attainment of societal goals and the study of it would thus deserve an important place in the integrated social science curriculum. Political science concepts and theories should play an important part in the exploration of how the polity relates to the other subsystems--economic, cultural, societal, etc.--as well as in the explanations of the internal workings of the political system itself; but always with an emphasis on their relationships to concepts and theories from the other social science disciplines. (Turner 1970, p. 13)

Examples of curricula which most clearly represent this point of view are*:

Boston Children's Museum. *Materials and Activities for Teachers and Children* (MATCH). Frederick H. Kresse, Director. Grades 1-6. American Science and Engineering, Inc.

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*The listed project directors are those who were responsible for development. In some cases they are no longer active in the project.

Carnegie Mellon University. *The Humanities in Three Cities.* Edwin Fenton, Director. Grades 9-12. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

University of Colorado. *Our Working World.* Lawrence Senesh, Director. Grades K-6. Science Research Associates, Inc.

University of Denver, World Mindedness Institute. *Discovering the World: An Adventure in Global Understanding.* Edith W. King, Director. Grades K-5. Spoken Arts, Inc.

Education Development Center. *Man: A Course of Study* and *From Subject to Citizen.* Peter Dow, Director. Grades 4-12. Curriculum Development Associates and Denoyer-Geppert, Company.

Educational Research Council of America. *Concepts and Inquiry.* Raymond English, Director. Grades K-9. Allyn and Bacon, Inc.

University of Minnesota. *Family of Man.* Edith West, Director. Grades K-5. Selective Educational Equipment.

San Francisco State College. *Taba Program in Social Science.* Mary C. Durkin *et al.*, Directors. Grades 1-8. Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

A rationale for the second approach, giving much less emphasis to the social sciences as such, has been made by Professor Richard B. Wilson, also of the University of Colorado's Political Science faculty:

> In spite of the "Behavioral Revolution," there remain a substantial number of political scientists who doubt the existence of an underlying unity in human social behavior. At least many of them doubt that the behavioral uniformities which have thus far been identified can capture the essence of political life or provide a grand design for comprehending and shaping the polity. Political scientists of this persuasion are more inclined to hold with the view of Oliver [stated on page 15] that central to the political process are a set of values designed to maximize individual choice and to facilitate personal fulfillment. Because a polity appears to these people as necessarily assuming the form of a social service and regulatory state, they would emphasize the central and instrumental role of legal government in realizing these values. Such persons would not reject or omit the empirical results of behavioral research, but they would insist on arranging the output around the central value issues of the time rather than viewing this output as a self-sufficient architectonic structure for explaining the social universe. (Turner 1970, p. 14)

Project materials which most clearly reflect this view are:

Harvard University. *Public Issues Series.* Fred M. Newmann and Donald W. Oliver, Directors. Grades 7-12. American Education Publications.

Utah State University. *Decision Making in a Democracy.* James P. Shaver and A. Guy Larkins, Directors. Grades 9-12. Houghton-Mifflin Company.

5.2 Project Materials Using a Single Discipline (Except Political Science) as Organizer of Social Science Concepts. A second approach to organization has been to use the generalizations and methodologies of one discipline to give direction to the explanation and use of concepts from a number of disciplines. Ridgway F. Shinn, Jr., for instance, suggested that although the viewpoints and methodologies of history and geography are distinct, they are in some sense integrative in nature. Either could, therefore, provide the curricular framework within which it would be possible to relate concepts from other disciplines in a meaningful way. (Shinn 1964, pp. 395-400) Edith West, of the University of Minnesota, after determining the terrain of each of the social science disciplines, the types of questions asked by the practitioners of the discipline, the conceptual theories, and the methods of inquiry, chose concepts from anthropology as the organizers for a K-12 curriculum. (Project Social Studies Curriculum Development Center, n. d.) Economics, geography, history, social psychology, and sociology have also been used in similar ways. Examples are:

Anthropology

University of Georgia. *Anthropology Curriculum Project.* Marion J. Rice and Wilfrid C. Bailey, Directors. K-12. Project.

Economics

San Jose State College. *Economics in Society.* Suzanne Wiggins Helburn and John G. Sperling, Directors. Grades 9-14. Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Carnegie Mellon University. *Comparative Economic Systems.* Edwin Fenton, Director. Grades 10-12. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

Geography

Association of American Geographers. *Geography in an Urban Age* and *The Local Community: A Handbook for Teachers.* Nicholas Helburn, Director. Grades 7-14. The Macmillan Company.

History

Amherst Project. *Units in American History.* Richard H. Brown, Director. Grades 9-12. Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Carnegie Mellon University. *The Shaping of Western Society; Tradition and Change in Four Societies; A History of the United States;* and *The Americans: A History of the United States.* Edwin Fenton, Director. Grades 8-12. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

Psychology

University of Michigan. *Social Science Laboratory Units.* Robert

S. Fox and Ronald Lippitt, Directors. Grades 4-8. Science Research Associates, Inc.

Sociology

American Sociological Association. *Episodes in Sociology Series*, *Inquiries in Sociology*, and *Readings in Sociology*. Robert C. Angell, Director. Grades 9-12. Allyn and Bacon, Inc.

Carnegie Mellon University. *Introduction to the Behavioral Sciences*. Edwin Fenton, Director. Grades 9-12. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

5.3 Area Studies. Beyond the obvious desirability of enhancing students' understanding of a variety of cultures, areas, and regions, curriculum developers have suggested mainly two reasons for this kind of focus. First, the study of other cultures offers a rich variety of views of man. Second, such study gives students practice in applying to another milieu such universal concepts as the nature of man, progress, man's relation to environment, and the purpose of government. Examples of materials in which the political science content is organized by region or area:

University of California at Berkeley. *Asian Studies Inquiry Series*. John U. Michaelis and Robin J. McKeown, Directors. Grades 9-12. Field Educational Publications, Inc.

University of California at Berkeley. *World Studies Inquiry Series*. Robin J. McKeown, Director. Grades 7-12. Field Educational Publications, Inc.

5.4 Materials with Primary Focus on Political Science Content. Examples of materials packages in which political science provides most of the content are:

University of California at Los Angeles. *Your Rights and Responsibilities as an American Citizen*; *Conflict, Politics, and Freedom*; and *Voices for Justice*. Richard P. Longaker and Charles N. Quigley, Directors. Grades 4-12. Ginn and Company.

Carnegie Mellon University. *Comparative Political Systems*. Edwin Fenton, Director. Grades 9-12. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

University of Indiana. *American Political Behavior*. Howard Mehlinger and John J. Patrick, Directors. Grades 9-12. Ginn and Company.

Tufts University. *Lincoln Filene Center Social Studies Program*. John S. Gibson, Director. Grades 4-12. Project.

Although the content foci of the above curricula are primarily drawn from political science, each curriculum employs a different approach to organizing that content. For instance, *Comparative*

Political Systems uses a conceptual scheme stressing five main concepts--political decision makers, political decision making, political institutions, political culture, and citizenship--to structure the inquiry of students.

The authors of *American Political Behavior* structure such basic behavioral science concepts as culture, socialization, status, role, social class, and decision making into a logical and systematic framework; translate them into terms high school students can understand; and provide opportunity for practice in their proper use by suggesting investigations through which the concepts are made operational.

The Longaker-Quigley materials--*Your Rights and Responsibilities as an American Citizen*; *Conflicts, Politics, and Freedom*; and *Voices for Justice*--are designed to increase students' grasp of the fundamental principles of democratic procedure and assist students in analyzing underlying values and assumptions when dealing with the realities of political and social life.

The *Lincoln Filene Center Social Studies Program* utilizes a "governing process model" with which to make political phenomena intelligible to elementary and non-college-bound secondary students. The basic components of the governing process are, according to the model: the people, or the governed; the officials, or the governors; the political process; the structure of government; decision making; policy; and policies of external polities.

5.5 Law-related Materials. Generally, these programs seek to demonstrate the functions, techniques, processes, and limits of law on the premise that such a study is a particularly effective way of reaching major goals and objectives of political science education. A second premise of law programs seems to be that "studying about the law brings to social studies a body of learning that is itself of distinctive value to general education--a body of learning without which the study of social and political ordering would be somewhat deficient." (A. Bruce Campbell, personal letter dated June 4, 1973) Yet a third premise is explicated by Paul A. Freund in an article in *Social Education*. He notes that a facility for moral reasoning which may carry over into all aspects of life can successfully be taught with law materials. (Freund 1973, p. 363)

Examples of materials in which the content focus is on political science and law are:

Constitutional Rights Foundation. *The Bill of Rights: Handbook for Teachers* and *The Bill of Rights: A Sourcebook for Teachers*. Vivian Monroe, Director. Grades 6-12. Benziger Brothers.

Cornell University. *The American Legal System* and *Justice and Order Through Law*. Robert K. Summers and A. Bruce Campbell, Directors. Grades 7-12. Ginn and Company.

Law in American Society Foundation. *Justice in America* and *The Trailmarks Series*. Robert H. Ratcliffe, Director. Grades 7-12. Houghton-Mifflin Company.

6.0 OTHER NEW TRENDS

6.1 Textbooks and Related Materials

Commercial publishers have seldom been in the vanguard of educational innovation. The demands of the market, for the most part, preclude this luxury. This is not to say, however, that publishers are insensitive or unaware of societal change and curriculum innovation. Company after company has invested heavily in what we may loosely term the "new" social studies, either by publishing the materials developed by the projects or by restructuring internally generated material. In fact, there are today few of the major curriculum developers' products that are not being marketed by commercial publishing companies.

Not only do we find major changes in the content of the curricula published commercially; we find fresh ways in which the products are packaged. Many publishers offer both hardback and paperbound covers for the same textual materials. Many series are paperbound in separate units so that it is possible to build sizeable, flexible classroom libraries. There is greater emphasis on the general attractiveness, on the quality of the art work, and on the graphics of texts. More and more texts are accompanied by a variety of teaching aids--thoughtfully conceived teacher's guides, test booklets, transparencies, student worksheets, cassettes, recordings, filmstrips, and so forth. At the same time, suggestions for enlivening the textual materials are frequently offered, in case the visuals cannot be purchased. The guiding notion seems to be a purposeful attempt to provide both flexibility and quality. It is easy today to find excellent material with which to

build a new one-year course, a semester program, or a series of units with which to enrich an on-going program.

It must be remembered, however, that this innovative material exists alongside the more traditional. The individual teachers must identify and choose those products that best fit their own classroom and community needs.

6.2 Games and Simulations

Although many teachers have been using games and simulations in their classrooms routinely, their wide-scale commercial development as a pedagogical device is relatively new--so new, in fact, that there are scant data to support their utility as educational tools. Intuitively one feels, however, that role-playing and gaming have great potential for the classroom.

Proponents suggest that carefully selected games and simulations can provide motivation, stimulate interest, teach analytic skills, and give evidence of attainment of learning objectives. One of the simplest forms of simulation, role-playing, can provide a forum in which students can deal with societal conflict in a non-threatening environment and learn to empathize with others.

The *Social Studies Curriculum Materials Data Book*, describing many of the better-known commercially published games and simulations, lists 277 items with content appropriate for social studies classrooms. Many of the better political science games and simulations are embedded in the materials already cited above or were developed as stand-alone materials by curriculum development centers. Among the better-known are:

Bottleneck, *City Hall*, *Influence*, and *Ninth Justice*--all part of *American Political Behavior*. Grades 9-12. Ginn and Company.

Campaign, *Czar Power*, and *Tracts*. Grades 9-14. Instructional Simulations, Inc.

Conflict (developed by World Law Fund), *Metropolitics*, *Napoli*, and *Powderhorn*. Grades 5-12. Simile II.

Confrontation. Grades 8-12. Creative Communications and Research.

Dangerous Parallel (developed by Foreign Policy Association). Grades 8-12. Scott, Foresman and Company.

Democracy. Grades 7-12. Western Publishing Company, Inc.

Disunia and *Ecopolis*. Grades 6-12. Interact Company.

Hat in the Ring: Presidential Nominating Game. Grades 9-12. The Kiplinger Washington Editors, Inc.

Inner-City Planning. Grades 9-12. The Macmillan Company.

Inter-Nation Simulation Kit. Grades 9-12. Science Research Associates, Inc.

Mulberry. Grades 10-14. Paul S. Amidon and Associates, Inc.

New Town. Grades 7-12. Harwell Associates.

Propaganda. Grades 7-12. Wff 'N Proof Company.

Redwood Controversy. Grades 7-12. Houghton-Mifflin Company.

Starpower. Grades 10-12. Western Behavioral Sciences Institute.

Listed below are a few selected sources that provide insights into the nature, uses, and limitations of games and simulations:

Abt, Clark C. *Serious Games*. New York: The Viking Press, Inc., 1970.

Charles, Cheryl L., and Ronald Stadsklev, eds. *Learning with Games: An Analysis of Social Studies Educational Games and Simulations*. Boulder, Colorado: Social Science Education Consortium, Inc., 1973.

Gordon, Alice Kaplan. *Games for Growth*. Palo Alto, California: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1970.

6.3 Social Action Programs

Reflecting the concerns stated above, but moving even further away from the traditional, academic programs, we find many communities initiating a variety of educational social action programs. The rationale and objectives for these programs have probably been stated most cogently by Fred M. Newmann. He suggests that the primary educational objective of these programs is to increase students' ability to exert influence in public affairs. He finds justification for doing this in the need for citizen participation in democracy, the nature of morality, and the nature of psychological growth.

Newmann believes, first of all, that in a democracy students should be provided the opportunities to learn the skills and competencies which will enable them to participate in social processes if they wish to do so. Second, they should be provided information and knowledge about governmental institutions and actions so that they can deliberate *morally* in situations that involve conflict between self-interest and

the interest of others. Finally, because students need to feel efficacious and worthy, they should be taught ways in which they can influence their own environment. Programs which are structured to provide the skills, abilities, and attitudes with which students can have an impact on reality stand in clear contrast to traditional curricula, in which students are usually taught only to describe, define, evaluate, explain, or analyze reality. (Newmann 1973)

A middle-ground approach between these two extremes has been adopted by the High School Political Science Curriculum Project of the Social Studies Development Center at Indiana University. The school itself is viewed as a micro-political system that operates according to the fundamental principles of political behavior found in all political systems. Concepts, principles, and methodology from political science are used to guide students in their systematic observation and analysis of the political life of the school. In addition, the students' political knowledge is put to work as the students participate in the school's ongoing political system. The developers believe that

> First, schools can provide a type of control over the match between political principles and participation experiences which neither community or classroom activities can ensure.... Secondly, schools can provide a continuity of participation experience which cannot be duplicated in community or simulated classroom efforts. (Gillespie 1972, p. 2)

7.0 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The intensive developmental efforts of the last decade have added a rich, variegated smorgasbord of materials to the educator's toolkit for teaching civics, American government, and problems of democracy courses. These materials incorporate new (or sometimes, rediscovered) approaches to organizing intellectual content and new (again, sometimes rediscovered) pedagogical approaches.

For the most part, the developers took as their starting point the existing goals for civic education that had evolved during the 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries, seeking better ways to achieve these goals. In the process of development and school trials, teachers, administrators, social scientists, and teacher educators became involved

in healthy exchange about the meaning and implications of these goals. Out of this came elaborations, shifts in emphasis, redefinitions, and even additions of new goals to meet the demands of a rapidly changing and complex society.

Thus, the heritage left by the truly unprecedented "developmental decade" of the sixties includes a deepening and broadening of our understanding of the goals of civic education as well as a widening of the range of alternatives for achieving these goals. This is not the end of the story, however. School people familiar with the materials produced by the national development projects note that these products do not meet all needs and do not "work" in some situations. They see a need for continued development, adaptation, and modification of materials such as those produced by the projects; but they also see a need for new development in areas not dealt with by the project materials.

Developers (and their publishers) worry that their materials are not experiencing the widespread dissemination for which they had hoped and that, when their materials are used in the schools, they are not always used in the spirit intended by the developers. They see a need to understand the process of diffusion better and to train teachers in the use of their materials in order to more closely link development to the classroom.

Just about everyone concerned with education, including the citizenry in general, is concerned about whether all these new materials are really worth the money that has been and is being spent on them. They see a need for evaluation of both content and pedagogy.

Finally, many professional political scientists feel that more needs to be done by disciplinarians both in terms of training prospective teachers in the content and methodology of the field and in participating in future developmental and evaluation efforts. For although it can be said that political science content in the "new social studies" is better than that in "traditional social studies," it still cannot be said it is the best political science.

Thus, there seems to be a consensus that the development work of the recent past, while providing us with rich new resources and many new insights, is not enough. More can and ought to be done.

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